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431 of the father. A clear distinction is maintained between the property
593 of husband and wife. A woman owns all the baskets, mats, etc., which she has made and everything which she has received through gift or inheritance. Similarly, the wife has no claim on anything belonging to the husband at the time of their marriage, or on anything which he may make or inherit later.

The economic independence of wives is well illustrated by the provisions which exist among the Menabe for the division of any increase in the family wealth after marriage. The rules vary slightly with the gens, but in general the wife is entitled to one half of the increase, other than inheritances. This becomes her absolute property and is retained even when she is divorced with cause. She can demand a division at any time and it is not uncommon for wives who do not get on well with their husbands to take their share of the profits as they come in and bank them with their own relatives. This holds for an only wife, or a first one. The rights of subsidiary wives are less clearly defined, but the husband is expected to make gifts to them from time to time. These become their absolute property. Among the Ikongo there is no such regular division of profits, but a husband is expected to make his wives frequent gifts. In both groups it is considered bad form for a husband to make gifts to his subsidiary wives without the first wife's permission.

428 Inheritance is fixed by law and it is impossible for a person to make a will. At the same time, a man or woman can give property away even when on the deathbed and the legal heirs have no redress. The only limitation is that land cannot be given outside the family. Old people frequently use this right as a threat to obtain obedience from their children and it is not uncommon for a man to give most of his estate to some favorite son or daughter before his death. As a rule, he will not do this until he thinks his end is imminent, for a gift once made cannot be recalled. In all matters pertaining to [597] inheritance, individuals who have been adopted have the same rights as those born into a similar relationship.

It is universally prohibited for a husband to inherit from his wife or a parent from a child, but in other respects the rules of inheritance differ somewhat in the northern and southern divisions of the tribe.

Among the Ikongo a wife cannot inherit from her husband. Apparently this works little hardship except in the case of barren women. The wife usually has her own property and seems to possess an informal life interest in her children's share of the husband's estate.

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852 304 men inside the door of the *trano be* armed with clubs or rice pestles, not spears, and the Zafindriamitrova omitted this feature.

The fact that a group of boys had gone through the circumcision ceremony together did not establish any bond between them. The Tanala have nothing suggestive of formal age groupings.

STATUS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

848 The Tanala consider it a calamity for either a man or a woman to be childless. Little social stigma attaches to an unmarried mother and what there is is counterbalanced by the desire for fertile wives. An illegitimate child is no hindrance to a successful marriage.

Among the Tanala Menabe a man who marries the mother as his first wife will normally adopt her illegitimate child, although it is not compulsory. If he takes her as a second or third wife and already has children, he will not adopt the child, but will contribute to its support. Illegitimacy does not affect the social status of an individual except in so far as it places him at an economic disadvantage. He shares equally with legitimate children in his mother's estate, but has no claim on that of his father, even if the relationship is well known. As land rights are transmitted exclusively through men and most cattle belong to men, the illegitimate child is almost certain to be poor. There are few opportunities for him to acquire capital even when adult and he can rarely rise to importance in the tribe.

Among the Tanala Ikongo much more social stigma attaches to illegitimacy. Such children are looked down on and jeered at and illegitimate boys find it hard to get wives. In at least some of the gentes, bastards are forbidden to enter the *trano be* ("assembly house") and are not considered full gens members. All the disabilities are, however, removed by adoption.

ORPHANS

736 The Tanala consider as orphans children who have lost a father or both parents. The loss of a mother is felt to be less serious. Children who have lost both parents are supported by their father's relatives, but they are often slighted and their lot is considered a miserable one. Fatherless children are somewhat better off, for the mother will work the father's land for their benefit.

ADOPTION

597 Adoption, *miantsoraza*, seems to be rather rare. It is practiced only by men who have no children of their own. Among the Tanala

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Menabe anyone may be adopted. The adopter calls the village together in the *kianza* or at his own house. He provides a liberal supply of rum and 1.20 to 5.00 francs in money. When all have assembled he fills a white drinking horn with rum and holds it in front of him while the head of the lineage announces: "Here is so-and-so, who is going to adopt so-and-so. He has brought the rum and the money." The rum is then passed around and the money divided among the whole village, the elders getting the largest share. The giving of the money is the real sign of adoption. After this ceremony the adopted child is in all ways the equal of a real one.

The Tanala Ikongo adopt only illegitimate children, their own or those of women they marry, and faithful slaves. In the case of an illegitimate child the man kills an ox, called the *tota-hitay*. The meat is divided into two equal parts, one for each of the families interested, and the adoption publicly announced. After this the child has all the rights of a legitimate one. Fathers often adopt their illegitimate children without marrying the mother.

Slaves may be adopted as a reward for long and loving service. In this case two oxen are killed, one for the village and the other for persons living in other villages but sharing the same tomb. The slave receives freedom and full social rights, but is expected to remain with his adoptive parent. If he neglects his adoptive father the latter may reject and sell him. His price will be divided between the adoptive father and the *Fokonolona* ("village council").

DISOWNMENT

Disownment is extremely rare but is practiced by all the Tanala on occasion. It seems to be limited to adult sons and is considered a desperate measure. The Ikongo disown only for repeated incest or if a man has become a professional thief. Ingratitude or even violence to parents is not considered sufficient cause. The Menabe disown for the same reasons and for offenses against the parents as well.

The erring son is warned first by his parents, then by his father's parents and the elders of the gens and lastly by his mother's parents. The mother's parents are considered the last resort and their pleas are believed to be most effective. If he still fails to mend his ways, his father and mother assemble the village and announce: "So-and-so, our son, will not reform his ways although he has been counseled by his mother's parents. We disinherit him and he can go wherever he wants to." They then give rum and a sum of money to the village